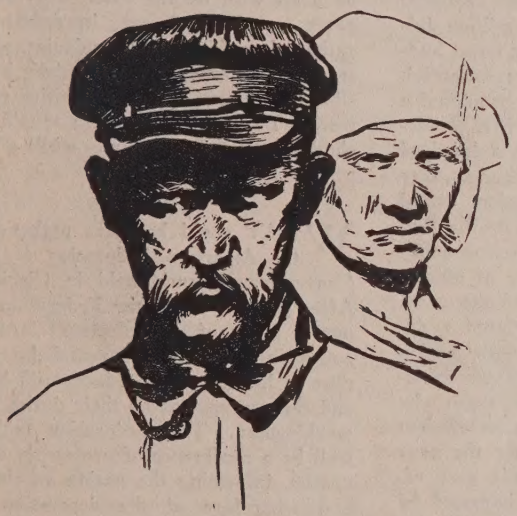
Vol. XV
No. 22

THE WORLD TOMORROW



RUSSIA PLANS AGAIN

MAXWELL S. STEWART

Pacific School of Religion
Berkeley, Calif.

"Moral Man and Immoral Society"

Reviewed by Norman Thomas

The Paradox of Debt

H. N. BRAILSFORD

MEDICINE UNBOUND

George A. Coe

DECEMBER 14th 32

10 cents a copy, $3.00 a year

The World Tomorrow

Vol. XV December 14, 1932 No. 22

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The World Tomorrow, Inc.

Published on Wednesday of each week at 52 Vanderbilt Ave., New York, N. Y.

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SUBSCRIPTION RATES: Single Copies, 10 cents; $3 per year; Canada, $3.50; foreign, $3.50. Orders for copies, subscriptions and all correspondence should be sent to THE WORLD TOMORROW, 52 Vanderbilt Ave., New York City. Entered as Second Class Matter, Sept. 30, 1926, at the Post Office of New York, under the act of March 3, 1879.

Ex Cathedra

WE feel sorry for the admirals and the Big Navy people. During the recent campaign they were assured of Mr. Roosevelt's complete sympathy. Had he not been Assistant Secretary of the Navy in war days? And did he not have the largest collection of marine pictures in any private home in the nation? Fancy their surprise, therefore, when Mr. Roosevelt held conference with Mr. Vinson, the chairman of the House Committee on Naval Affairs, and the two gentlemen agreed that a hundred million dollars ought to be cut out of the naval budget. But the admirals are resourceful. Their surprise and fury soon prompted a strategy with which to scare Mr. Roosevelt into submission. To cut a hundred million dollars from our naval budget, they have informed an anxious nation, would reduce our navy to inferiority to the British and Japanese navies. Furthermore they insist that a cut in the salary of officers would reduce the efficiency of the navy. Everyone in America has suffered a decrease in income, and the whole nation has therefore presumably become inefficient. But that is all the more reason why we ought to be protected by an efficient navy. We don't know whether the navy men will find their propaganda very effective among a people too harassed by immediate cares to have their usual concern about the alleged superiority of the navies of England and Japan. But our guess is that the military budgets will not be cut as drastically as the urgent situation demands.

THE Democratic Party will signalize its recent triumph at the polls by trying to force through a resolution on the repeal of the Eighteenth Amendment on the first day of the Congressional session. Speaker Garner will force through the vote without giving the Republica chance to offer an amendment which w incorporate President Hoover's idea proper alternative for prohibition. little maneuver is interesting for two sons. It is significant that, with a n facing the most serious social and econ situation of its history this winter, first attention of Congress should be g to beer. It is equally significant th great social problem like prohibition sh be dealt with on the basis of giving party an advantage over its defeated rather than from the standpoint of serving whatever values it might be sible to conserve in the prohibition exp ment. These politicians are stupid li children playing their games while a wo groans in agony.

WHAT could be more pathetic th the American Federation of La Convention, recently held in Cincinna After years of delay the Federation ca out in favor of unemployment insuran and spent most of the remainder of time in lecturing banks, industrial lead and the government on their duties to workingman. The Federation might well be a conference of professors of e nomics, informing the nation on the w and wherefore of the depression. T political realities of the present situati have not yet dawned upon the Federatio Long after it has become a questi whether a combination of economic a political strategy will avail to gain t rights of the workers in our kind of civi ization the Federation is still strongly co vinced that economic strategy alone is suf cient to protect the worker. Meanwhil the membership of the Federation has ra idly decreased until it now numbers onl a little more than two and a half millio men.

PRONUNCIO

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Socializing the Doctors

One of the most provocative and at the same time one of the most meaningful issues in American life was opened on November 30, with the publication of the three years' study on the costs of medical care, of which Dr. Harry H. Moore was director, under the chairmanship of Ray Lyman Wilbur. We have followed the pamphlets and statistical material issued by the committee from time to time during its research, and have been impressed both with the importance of the field investigated and the dispassionate manner in which so significant a task of fact-finding has been carried out.

The investigation reveals that the cost of medical care in the entire country totals $3,650,000,000 every year. With the statement that "human life in the United States is being wasted as recklessly, as surely, in times of peace as in times of war," the committee points out that during the War 50,285 soldiers were killed in battle or by wounds, and proceeds to compare with this figure the 88,088 lives taken in 1930 by tuberculosis, the 119,818 deaths due to cancer in the same year, and also the 135,845 infant deaths.

It must be noted that the "socialization of medicine" under capitalism is one thing, while socialization under socialism—that is, in the midst of an otherwise socialized community—would be another. Yet the committee's report is astonishingly bold, in view of the conservative group which on the whole were behind it. Thirty-five members of the committee approved the findings and recommendations, while thirteen were against it, eight of whom rendered a minority report. The majority, which included prominent physicians, urged that medical service, proven preventive and therapeutic, should be supplied largely by organized groups of physicians, dentists, nurses, pharmacists and other associated personnel; that all basic health service, whether governmental or not, should be extended and made available to the entire population "according to its needs"; that the costs of care be put on a group payment basis, by the use of insurance, taxation, or both, with continuation of individual fee service for those who desire it; that every state and community should provide agencies for the study and coördination of medical service; and that medical training should lay more stress on prevention and the social causes of disease. We hope our readers will look into the report for themselves, and while they are about it they could profit by an examination of *The Purchase of Medical Care Through Fixed Periodic Payment*, a new work by Dr. Pierce Williams of the National Bureau of Economic Research. As might have been expected, Dr. Morris Fishbein, conservative spokesman of the conservative American Medical Association, itself representing one of the most conservative professional groups in the world, bitterly opposes the report, labelling it in the most radical and unscientific language, "incitement to revolution."

There are two sides to the question, indeed, and we are delighted to observe the degree to which Dr. George A. Coe, in his article printed elsewhere in this issue, has sought to present socialization from the viewpoint of the physician's own welfare along with that of the nation as a whole. Physicians have to be conservative; if they were not, a million quack remedies a year would be forced into American stomachs. They have known, many of them, cases of malingering and venality toward compensation and insurance, and the more sensitive they are to human well-being the more they are sometimes apt to react unfavorably because of the minority who seek by devious practices a sort of inverted exploitation. While we are on the whole confirmed in our support of the majority report by what we know of socialized medicine abroad, as far as it goes for instance in Frankfort, studies there have plainly shown that genuine safeguards against malingering must be devised.

The battle will be wordy and intense. It belongs to the whole onward sweep of socialization, and can most soundly be evaluated with reference to its place in a socialist society. Conservative physicians, in any event, will hardly advance their cause by uttering arrant nonsense in the manner of Dr. Fishbein. When one examines the history of medicine, it is easy to place his agonized cries in the proper setting. Official intolerance long ago excoriated even those who introduced anaesthesia. The editors of a prominent dental journal warned against the effects of ether, which they believed were "more to be dreaded than the pain of almost any surgical operation." An outstanding French surgeon declared that "To escape pain in surgical operations is a chimera which we are not permitted to look for in our day." The *Edinburgh Medical and Surgical Journal* said, in 1847, that "Pain during operations is, in the majority of cases, even desirable. . . ." Newlands, when he propounded his periodic law in chemistry, suggesting an octave ar-

rangement in the atomic weight of elements, was ridiculed and reviled by his fellow-scientists—indeed, as most pioneers have been, for years, when they came up against entrenched "scientific" institutionalism. It is not such a far cry from the loud remonstrances of the *Journal of the American Medical Association's* editor regarding socialized medicine to the story, printed in *Hygeia* (one of his own papers) of the way in which Virginia once taxed each bathtub $50.00 and Boston prohibited altogether these "menaces to health" and "luxurious and undemocratic vanities."

If the Medical Association wants to win public favor, it will have to stop squealing and show how by the existing system the crisis in medicine, growing out of the general economic crisis but due to long-developing factors as well, can be adequately met. The report of the present group of investigators comes not on the independent initiative of a lone innovator, but with tremendous authority and prestige.

Von Schleicher as Dictator

President Hindenburg fulfilled general expectations in appointing General von Schleicher as Chancellor and virtual dictator of Germany. Since there is no parliamentary majority to support this new government it may be assumed that the General is armed, as was his predecessor, with a decree of dissolution for the Reichstag. There is a very small possibility that von Schleicher, who is a very expert politician, will not have to use such a decree. At least he is going to try to secure a few months' tolerance from the Reichstag. To get it he has bargained with the Socialists and promised them to relent upon some of the more obnoxious anti-labor legislation which the von Papen government either enacted or contemplated. He will also have to make some bargain with the Fascists and in that he may not succeed. He will not offer Hitler very much because the Hitler movement is in process of disintegration and the shrewd, strong man who has consistently outguessed Hitler will probably try to put the Fascists in an even more embarrassing position than they now are. One way of doing that would be to dissolve the Reichstag and make the Fascists go through all their campaign demagogy once more. As their pretensions sound more and more hollow each time they are repeated, this is one of the best methods of destroying them.

The situation in Germany will begin to clarify when the disintegration of the Hitler movement sets in and the radical elements in it drift to their natural allies, the conservative elements meanwhile seeking the protection of von Schleicher's fascism. But a clarification of the situation will not guarantee stability. It will merely make the ultimate crisis in Germany more inevitable.

Europe Resumes Its Debt Plea

Taken as a whole, the British note of December presents the case for debt revision with a thoroughne and persuasiveness that is characteristic of our cousin across the seas. Undaunted by the blunt refusal o the Administration to accede to its request as first pr sented, the British government warns the Unite States that a resumption of war debt payments woul "inevitably deepen the depression . . . and would lea to further falls in commodity prices with disastrou consequences from which no nation would be exempt. The note points out that "it will not profit a creditc country to collect a few million . . . dollars if it thereb perpetuates a world disorder which, reacting on itsel involves losses of revenue many times greater" an that in the last analysis the losses which the America "taxpayers would suffer from reconsideration canno be measured in the same scales as the untold loss o wealth and human misery caused by the present ec nomic crisis."

Although for the most part there can be no disput regarding the importance of the intergovernmenta debts as a contributing factor to the world depressio and the necessity for the solution of this problem as prerequisite to recovery, the emphasis which the Bri ish note places on this one factor seems somewhat ur realistic. It would be unwise even by implication t give the impression that cancellation of the debt would in itself contribute materially to the restoratio of prosperity. Settled apart from the other basic ec nomic problems facing the world, it is doubtfu whether a final writing down of the war debts woul have any marked effect upon general business condi tions. On the other hand, it is doubtless true that th failure of Congress to grant postponement of the De cember 15 payments will aggravate the crisis unless by virtue of a leadership that is as yet unborn, i should effect the tariff revision which alone will enabl our debtors to pay.

The more legalistic approach adopted in the Frenc note is, however, completely unanswerable. Th French content themselves with pointing out that thei request for the postponement of the coming paymen is the "normal, equitable and necessary sequel" of th Hoover moratorium and the definite commitmen made on the occasion of the Hoover-Laval conversa tions. If the burden of intergovernmental indebted ness was too heavy to bear in June and October 1931 it is obviously no lighter at the present moment. Th indications are, however, that Congress will com pletely ignore the promises made by the Administra tion. By thus betraying its national honor, the Unitec States will scarcely be in a position to assume its ac customed air of moral superiority towards the debtors who are being driven by its intransigency into what appears to be inevitable default.

lo Business, Mr. Garner

Our ebullient Vice-President-elect had his period of ory in the House, in the press, and over the radio, hen he forced through, as if a dire national emergncy depended upon it, an immediate vote on repeal the Eighteenth Amendment. As an experienced dge of "corn" and of the popular mind, the Speaker alized that whichever way the decision went he himlf had little to lose. If the vote went for unqualified peal, it would be upset in the Senate anyway, and yet could lay claim to zeal in fulfilling his campaign edges; if the necessary two-thirds was not reached, re was a noble soul who had done his manful best. here is no use in scolding Mr. Garner for stampedg the show; he had to have a last fling before retirg to the obscurity of the world's least romantic office.

The vote of 272 to 144 for "naked" repeal fell ort of the required two-thirds, and guaranteed that hen the problem of repeal is again taken up several eeks hence or in the next Congress, the question will ceive saner discussion. It does forecast, in all probbility, legalization of beer during the present session. Ve venture to hope that the Pooh-Bah from Uvalde ill allow a little consideration to such minor matters s unemployment and farm relief, and not spend all he intellectual energy of the House on booze and Mr. Hoover's sales tax.

nching Toward Racial Justice

Progress and retrogression in race relations are reorted by the Commission on Interracial Cooperation n a recent summary. Substantial advances have been nade along many lines, while in other directions heavy everses have been sustained. In spite of the unparaleled progress made by the Negro race since the abotion of slavery, and notwithstanding the new attitude oward race problems now being manifested by a apidly growing number of white people, Negroes coninue to be victimized to an appalling degree.

Too much praise cannot be heaped upon the members of the Association of Southern Women for the Prevention of Lynching for their valiant crusade against this barbarity. But the next day after this Association, in annual convention assembled, recently adopted as its goal "A lynchless South in 1933", a Negro man in Wisner, Louisiana, was lynched. True enough, the number of lynchings is rapidly decreasing, only seven being recorded thus far in 1932, as contrasted with an annual average of 100 for 40 years. But these seven victims represent only a small fraction of the total number of Negroes who have died violent deaths at the hands of white men during the year. "There are sections," reports the Commission on Interracial Cooperation, "in which white men may shoot down Negroes on slight provocation, with complete immunity from punishment and sometimes even from arrest. In the rural 'black belt' there are Negro tenants who do not dare ask their landlords even for an accounting, knowing that such an inquiry would be resented."

Evidence of the recklessness with which white men shoot down Negroes is found in recently published figures of comparative murder rates for 1931 in various American cities, as assembled by Frederick Rex, municipal librarian of Chicago. As usual, the homicide rate is much higher in Southern cities than in other parts of the nation. Birmingham is in the notorious first place with a rate of 37 murders per 100,000 population, Jacksonville second with 35, Nashville third with 24, Fort Worth fourth with 23, Houston fifth with 21, San Antonio sixth with 19, Miami seventh with 18, Norfolk eighth with 18, Knoxville ninth with 17. Racketeer-accused Chicago ranks 25th with a rate of just under 10, while Sodom-and-Gomorrah-like New York City is far down the list with a rate of minus seven. Murders by Negroes account for part of the high rate in Southern communities, but with barbarous frequency the shooting is done by white men.

In Spite of Spectacular Strides

Substantial improvement in school facilities for Negroes is general throughout the South. North Carolina is now spending on its Negro schools alone more than it spent on all its schools in 1905. The percentage of illiteracy among Negroes has dropped from 70 in 1880 to 20 at present. In speaking of college education among Negroes during the past decade, the Federal Bureau of Education says the advance is "astonishing in its scope and almost incredible in its magnitude." Yet Professor McCuiston shows that in the 11 Southern states in which separate records are kept, the public school outlay averaged $44.31 for the white and $12.57 for the colored child enrolled. In South Carolina the respective figures were $60.06 and $7.84; in Mississippi $45.34 and $5.45. "But even these figures do not tell the worst," continues the report of the Interracial Commission. "Within these averages there are unbelievable extremes. In Alabama, for example, where the averages for the State are $36.43 for the white child and $10.09 for the colored, there is one county in which the figures were found to be $57.00 for the white child and $1.51 for the Negro. In hundreds of counties in many of the states the proportion runs as high as ten to one, or twenty to one, in favor of the white child."

Negro health has shown a decided improvement during recent years, the death rate per thousand dropping from 24 in 1910 to 17 in 1927, while the Negro's life span increased from 41 years in 1912 to 46 years in 1922. Nevertheless, the proportion of Negroes to the total population of the United States was less in 1930 than in any previous census year. Beginning with 19.3

per cent in 1790, the proportion, declining with every decade except two, now stands at 9.7 per cent. "According to the standards of the American Medical Association there are in the whole country only eight fully accedited hospitals operated primarily for Negroes, and only two of these are in the South. These all together accommodate annually only 67 internes, a fact which makes it impossible for more than a small proportion of Negro physicians to get hospital training or practice. Another serious handicap is that the general hospitals which accept Negro patients usually exclude colored doctors from hospital practice—a condition practically universal in the South and very common in other sections of the country."

In the Economic Arena

The groups on the lower economic levels are always pushed still further down in periods of economic debacle, and the Negroes of this country are now being subjected to appalling miseries. There is a widespread tendency for them to be replaced by white workers, and even in those cases where they are able to cling on, their earnings are often near the starvation level. The Interracial Commission says that "in widely scattered localities the bitter struggle for bread has taken the form of intimidation or actual violence, with Negroes run off their jobs or fighting to retain them. . . . That practical peonage still exists rather widely cannot be doubted. There recently came to light, for example, a situation in the turpentine belt of Florida where Negroes were regularly held against their will in the turpentine camps and worked indefinitely under armed guards, forbidden to leave and brought back forcibly if they attempted to do so. It was found further that this condition was legalized by a law enacted in 1919, apparently for that specific purpose. Efforts to arouse an effective sentiment for the repeal of that law have so far proved unavailing. . . ."

The situation has been worse in the past. Progress is being made. But with what ghastly leisure! Praise is due those courageous Southerners who are taking the lead in the movement for racial justice, but they would be the last to settle back with a feeling of complacency while surrounded by Negroes who in a thousand ways are being victimized by white insensitiveness and callousness, and whose lot appears almost unendurable.

Back Brookwood!

In its dozen years of life, Brookwood Labor College, at Katonah, New York, has demonstrated its social value, not only as a genuine school with high aims for the workers of the United States, but also as a proving ground for many progressive educational ideas. From far and near, students of workers' education have come to see "how Brookwood does it," and have not gone away disappointed. But these are hard times for everyone, and Brookwood, particularly, has been in a precarious position. The conservative labor groups which at first gave it their blessing deserted the experiment when A. J. Muste and his fellow-teachers refused to make the school a center of anti-Communist doctrines; equally, the left wing of the left wing have refused to aid the project unless it would make commitments, uncritically, to their cause. But the very aims which create a difficulty for the school are the ones which give it so unique a place in American education.

Brookwood is today fighting for its very life. Dr. Edouard C. Lindeman has formed a committee of editors, educators, labor officials and religious leaders, all of them distinguished figures, and this committee states that "food for the mentally and spiritually starved American workers is at least as necessary in this crisis as food for the physically starved. No activity can be more important than that of a labor college giving to workers themselves the vision of a new world and some comprehension of the means by which it may be achieved. If American workers are to remain as ignorant of fundamental political, economic, and social questions as they now are, the result must be catastrophe." We earnestly hope the drive to save Brookwood will be successful. It is indispensable to the future of America.

Geneva's Massacre: More Light

Despite an obvious attempt on the part of the Swiss authorities to obscure the facts of the bloody "riot" on November 9, the real truth is at last in hand. It bears out completely our editorial warning not to be misled by press accounts alone, and our contention that behind the sorry affair was more than appeared on the surface. Briefly, the outline of events is as follows: a band of extreme, almost fanatical, superpatriotic reactionaries decided to hold a meeting at which they would conduct a mock trial of two leaders in the Swiss Socialist Party, MM. Dicker and Nicole, the former the Party's president and the latter the editor of *Le Travail* (Labor). *Le Travail* is the party's organ, a militant paper as European Socialist journals go.

Inside the hall a Communist was beaten unconscious for seeking to protest against a speech; but otherwise no disorder occurred of any consequence. Outside however, cheering crowds of Socialists bore Nicole on their shoulders, from which he made an impromptu address. Although surrounded by police, Nicole declared: "We have come here as honest workers, without any arms and strong only in our right. An infamous job is being assigned to the army in throwing them against the working people." Speedily the troops arrived, young, raw, armed to the teeth, and provocative because they had been paraded through the streets in the afternoon as a direct intimidation, marching between walls plastered by reactionary posters put up

the conveners of the "patriots'" meeting. A few a time these young soldiers were sent into the crowd five thousand, to disperse it gradually. But the orkers, goaded almost beyond tolerance, seized their ns, even their machine guns, and smashed them on e pavement of the Plainpalais, throwing gravel and en pepper into their eyes. A moment more, and from e sides of the square machine guns spat their lethal issiles, until 12 were killed and 70 others wounded. ll the blame has been laid on the Socialists by the pitalist press, especially on Léon Nicole, who has en jailed and held *incommunicado*.

There is an economic background worthy of note, r this case is a sensation in Central Europe and will t soon be forgotten. At no frontier in the world there greater bitterness, perhaps, over customs than the boundary between Geneva and French Savoy, hich, properly speaking, is Geneva's economic hinter- nd. We recall a ride into Geneva from France with League official, who was certain that his diplomatic atus would save the annoyance of a search; but the earch was relentless. Innumerable tourists have ound trouble going the other way. This tariff war as reacted unfavorably on the welfare of the work- rs, who, also, see their lot in all its daily contrast to e luxury of the diplomatic circles and of the retired reigners who live so delightfully in this center of orld affairs. The authorities, on the other hand, e a local Swiss Socialist movement gaining strength, aving pushed up its vote from 25.4 per cent of the tal in 1919 to 31.5 per cent in 1925 and to 40 per nt in 1931. What a gross embarrassment it would e to have this international capitalist city in the hands f a Socialist municipal government! These two rival rces, increasingly convergent, were back of the re- nt outbreak and unless resolved will make the head- nes again unless the authorities renounce their pro- ocative alliances with militarist reaction.

When Half Gods Go

It was characteristic of the smart young men and omen of the 'twenties scornfully to reject Beethoven nd Michelangelo as being too tumultuously and un- estrainedly emotional and to turn instead to artists ho maintained an icy aloofness towards life. Such as *par excellence* Piero della Francesca, whose vogue apidly spread in the Bloomsbury and Greenwich Vil- age sectors and their host of lesser counterparts. The rediscovered madrigals of Purcell were exulted in, as ere the geometrical patterns of many of Bach's com- positions. Bare functionalism, stripped of ornament, as similarly exalted in architecture. The aesthetes nd intelligentsia seemed indeed to take as their stan- ard the code of the English public school, that one hould never betray emotion about anything and should greet the world with a hostile or at best an indifferent tare. Aldous Huxley represented almost the quin- tessence of this attitude and he was in turn taken as the model for imitation by others.

Such a dry and restrained manner is to be sure a de- cided improvement over the baroque extravagance and falsely sentimental smoothness which our grandfathers and grandmothers regarded as art. That the world has progressed aesthetically can be judged from the fact that only a little over a half century ago Bernini and Canova were still thought to have been great sculp- tors, while young girls in their trips through the Euro- pean galleries were expected to pause ecstatically be- fore the insufferable painters of the Bolognese school, Caravaggio, the Carraccii, and Guido Reni. The over- gesticulation and empty fury of the baroque school has fortunately been swept away in painting and in sculp- ture and largely so in music. Insipid sentimentalists, like Canova or Greuze, no longer stir a pulse, and Raphael's former glories are properly dimmed.

All this is to the good. But sometimes one wonders if the bright young people did not throw the baby out with the bath. Hoodwinked as they had been by the false idealism of the War and with many of the halos of romantic love stripped away, it was perhaps but natural that they should recoil from emotion or from any idealism which seemed to put too great a strain upon human nature. They suspected in short that Michelangelo might be merely another Bernini and that Beethoven was merely Berlioz in disguise. They therefore shrugged their shoulders and turned away to a cool impersonality.

The last generation, therefore, fundamentally re- fused to believe in the mightiest genius, and chose as its idols those who did not make too great demands upon men's hearts and souls. And yet one who has repeatedly peered upward at the Sistine ceiling to see that breath-taking vault of men like Gods which Michelangelo painted, or who has wandered into the Medici Chapel to gaze upon brooding Night and mys- terious Day, or who has felt the sadness of the bound slaves in the Louvre, has known that here are true and not empty heroics. Michelangelo's figures have mighty tasks to do, but one has the feeling of their complete adequacy. Similarly, the symphonies of Beethoven give to the unprejudiced hearer, the con- sciousness of perfect inevitability. They unfold in what one instinctively recognizes to be a perfect man- ner and they are intense without ever being exagger- ated. One is always conscious that Beethoven is in complete control of his medium and that he is never in danger of being carried away by it.

Perhaps the 'thirties will show a wiser judgment than the decade which has just passed and will, with all its hatred of pretence, take to its heart the great geniuses of the human race, high amongst whom are those titans of whom we have just spoken. If it does so, it will tap deeper levels of joy and aesthetic no- bility than the brittle generation which has just passed.

Pink Pills for New York

THE seven million people of New York, who have been suffering for years from the sickness of acquisitive political control, are now being offered homeopathic pills of legislative reform. First came Acting Mayor Joseph V. McKee, who drew from the great newspapers of New York paeans of adoration because he advocated certain salary cuts and the abolition of high-priced limousines. Then came the redoubtable Alfred E. Smith, who offered before Judge Seabury, on December 1, an elaborate plan for the reconstruction of New York City's government, which was given pages of publicity in the metropolitan press and ecstatic praise by the editorial writers.

Civic organizations and business leaders have made of McKee and Smith potential saviors of the city, and in the chorus of adulation only a few voices of doubt have been heard. The Committee of One Thousand has moved to form an independent city party; the Republicans, with the gorgeous academic window dressing of Nicholas Murray Butler, have suddenly come into the fray for clean government. All New York is talking of civic regeneration to be brought about in the mayoralty campaign of 1933, but the prospects are for a fusion movement with nothing more important behind it than the demand for economy. In the whole sound and fury there are one or two positive gains. Tammany is on the defensive, and Mayor-elect O'Brien is destined to an ignominious reign, probably ending in one year; and, secondly, some of the most conspicuous wastes in city administration are likely to be eliminated. But beyond that the reform movements of New York are drifting rapidly toward complete futility.

Politically, New York is in need of a method for giving anti-Tammany forces complete representation. The antiquated system of single-member districts for the election of a Board of Aldermen and a Board of Estimate has allowed Tammany Hall, with 50 to 65 per cent of the vote in the city, to put more than 95 per cent of the office-holders into positions of power. In the last election, when the 242,000 votes cast for Joseph V. McKee are reckoned in, Tammany polled only about half the city's vote for mayor. Hillquit, of the Socialists, polled 250,000 and Pounds, the Republican, 443,000. The one mechanical change in city government which would give an opportunity for Republicans, Socialists, Independents and Communists to unite in opposition to Tammany would be the Hare system of proportional representation. Under that system a city council of 25 members, say, could be chosen from the various boroughs of the city, and its composition would be in direct proportion to the votes for various parties. The practical effect would be an anti-Tammany majority. This fundamental, mechanical reform has been advocated consistently by the Socialist Party, and is now being supported by the Citizens Union, the City Affairs Committee, the Committee of One Thousand, the City Club, and many other groups.

Even this fundamental, mechanical change in New York City government is likely to be lost in the shuffle because of the public enthusiasm for Alfred E. Smith's plan of structural reform. Mr. Smith advocates a consolidation of city departments with one district attorney, one sheriff and one public works commissioner for all the five boroughs of New York City. So far his plan is excellent, but the control of the city by Tammany Hall would not be affected by any of his suggestions. He proposes a bicameral city legislature of 11 senators and 23 assemblymen, who would be elected from districts and boroughs by the present method of voting. Why so acute a man as Mr. Smith, with such able advisers as Robert Moses and Mrs. Henry Moskowitz, has gone back to the anachronistic survival of an upper legislative house for a city like New York is difficult to explain. The bicameral system is a relic of the ages of special privilege and the rule of landed peers over restless masses.

If the superficial reforms suggested by Mr. Smith are finally accepted by New York as the net result of the Seabury inquiry, the blame will rest upon the banking and realty interests of the city. The bankers and realtors are in a state of panic over local taxation. They have fought so desperately for governmental economies in order to rid themselves of tax burdens that they have undermined public confidence in the financial soundness of the city itself. They have forced a method of subway financing on the city, which, in order to lighten the immediate tax burden, raises the cost of subway construction 130 per cent, and will eventually bring the eight-cent fare. Although part of their criticism of Tammany extravagance is wholly justified, the bankers have overdone their case. New York City is still half a billion dollars removed from its debt limit, and its bonds could have been sold to the public if the bankers had not created so much hostile sentiment. While they have been lending money at .14 of one per cent to the Federal government, in spite of a $700,000,000 Federal deficit, they have demanded 5¼ per cent from New York City, which has had no past deficits, and which is likely to have only a $100,000,000 deficit this year. The city's financial methods have not been altogether sound since they have been predicated upon a steady rise in real estate values, but the sins of Controller Berry in directing the city's financial expenditures have been lily-white compared to the traditional methods of business enterprise.

as Brailsford sees it

The Paradox of Debt

OF course Great Britain will pay her debt on December 15. That ought never to have seemed doubtful. The interesting fact is, however, that it was in doubt. English conservative newspapers of some importance categorically asserted that the Government had made up its mind to default. I believe that the Treasury and a minority of the Cabinet did actually harbour this intention, and for several days public opinion was in suspense. That any doubt on this subject could be entertained by people who know our English traditions deserves to rank as an outstanding event in the history of the capitalist system.

For my own part I share the general English view about this debt. It was funded at too high a figure, largely because Mr. Montagu Norman and Mr. Baldwin thought more of British prestige than of the prosaic economic facts. It has since swollen intolerably, like all fixed interest payments, as a result of the appreciation of gold. It cannot be met without injury both to the country that receives and the country that pays. None the less, if Congress cannot grasp that argument, the obligation to pay is clear. The thing can be done in one of several ways: we are nowhere near bankruptcy.

To decide otherwise would be to shake the entire capitalist order. England, after all, is a creditor as well as a debtor. When, none the less, I see that various people of importance hesitate over this relatively trifling sum, I realise that the foundations which sustain the present system of property and usury are visibly cracking. That Tory England should talk of defaulting is much more significant than the actual repudiation of debt, after a complete break of continuity, by Communist Russia. The capitalist order is less solid, less enduring than most of us had dared to hope. It is a depressing experience to realise that great nations are governed by economic illiterates, for Washington is merely repeating the follies which London and Paris have slowly discarded. But a Socialist may feel relatively cheerful: the barriers against fundamental change are not as solid as they seemed.

This event lends itself to endless commentary. It would be interesting to examine the working of a monetary system which permits such a debt as this to swell in a few years by one-third. For the dollar in which it is measured, which was worth 100 units of mixed goods when it was contracted, is now worth 154. All over the world that process has gone on, with startling rapidity during the slump, is still going on, and may continue. It has enhanced intolerably the tribute which the world's productive workers must pay to passive capital. For our houses, our railways, our municipal and our internal national debts, we are all paying an additional levy on this colossal scale. The Australian farmer, tied by complicated mortgages to the City of London, the Indian peasant enslaved to the village usurer, the English taxpayer laboriously paying for the War, have all felt it no less than the indebted governments. Here, in this abnormal aggravation of the customary burden of usury, gapes the crack that is rending the seemingly solid structure.

"BUT is there not," the anti-militarist American reader may remind me, "a crack in the structure even more obvious than this? You could pay your debts with ease, if you didn't waste your substance on armaments." May I, who am as anti-militarist as anyone, answer bluntly, "No"? This is a plausible but most misleading fallacy. Of course we are all wasting, criminally and stupidly, on warships and armaments, resources which ought to go to schools and workers' housing. Of course, if we would first liberate India and reshape the Versailles Treaty, we could cut our fleets and armies to the proportions of a mere police force. But this would not touch our problem of international debt. The fallacy, like so many others, lies in supposing that one can reason from the experiences of private life to the relations of States. If a private debtor spends his income on champagne and race horses, one may fairly say that he is squandering what belongs to his creditor: if he stopped this extravagance he could pay. Well then, are armaments any better than champagne? Morally they are incomparably worse; but economically there is no analogy. We do not dissipate our income. It remains intact within our island, however ill we distribute it. We are, as a nation, no poorer after we have built our warships than we were before. All that has happened is that the State has taken many pounds in taxes out of my pocket and put them into the safe of Armstrong-Vickers, the

great armament firm. I am less able to pay you, if you like to look at my unfortunate case, but Lord Armstrong is as solvent as you could desire. The whole trouble is that it is not easy to transfer his gains across the Atlantic. He could pay you in ships, which he builds well and cheaply (including impeccably pacific vessels), in locomotives and all manner of machinery, or he could exchange these things for other English wares better suited to your needs, and send you these. You will not take them: Messrs. Hawley & Smoot have seen to that.

THEN how else can we pay? In dollars, says Congress. Unfortunately, we may not print dollars; we must buy them. Again, how? We can only do it with goods or with gold, which again we must purchase with goods. Shall we offer you bundles of English bank-notes? But these have only one use; they will buy English goods. We do our best to buy dollars, but look how the account stands. We bought in the first nine months of this year £59,000,000 worth of cotton and other American goods from you: you bought only £11,000,000 of English goods from us. At that rate it is not easy to pay a debt. We scour the world to pick up dollars, in Paris or Buenos Aires, but we can get them only for goods, and in these places also we encounter the Latin comrades of Senator Smoot.

To sum up, then: armaments, however wicked and stupid, have nothing to do with the case. There is a problem of transfer and the balance of trade. Scrapping a battleship would not help us to pay. But we should be appreciably better able to pay, if we could cut down our purchases of American cotton. That would produce a slightly better balance, with results unpleasant for you, and disagreeable for us. The world, in short, would be a little poorer and a little madder than it is today.

This line of thought must be carried further, if we are to grasp the singular relationship of America to the world. It is manifest, is it not, that a creditor nation should have a "passive" balance of foreign trade? How else shall she receive the interest on her past loans? She may, indeed, receive it for a time in gold, which is what America did, until she had sucked up (with that other creditor, France) most of the gold in the world. I will not pause to argue that this was a disaster to all concerned: enough that it cannot go on. There is not enough free gold left anywhere (save in Paris) to pay more than two or three instalments of the debt. The fundamental fact of the post-War economic disturbance is that two of the four great Economic Powers in the world shifted their places in the system, and failed to adjust their trade to the change. America was, before the War, a debtor, exporting, quite properly, more than she imported. Germany was a creditor, importing, quite properly, more than she exported. Germany, turned debtor, has tried hard to adjust herself, and has recently achieved a small but inadequate surplus of exports. But America has not tried to make the contrary adjustment; has not perceived the necessity of it! has, indeed, struggled harder than ever to send out more than she receives.

PERHAPS the adjustment is impossible. For my part, I think it is so. America's productive apparatus, industrial and agricultural, is so gigantic, and the consuming power of her own masses, under capitalism, so limited in relation to her capacity to produce, that she must export a vast surplus. It used to go out to pay her creditors. It now goes out to embarrass her debtors. She might, indeed, lend back what they struggle to pay her, but she could do that only on condition that she was content to take no interest. Some of it her tourists might consume in Europe, but for the rest, her only safe course would be to reinvest it continually beyond her own shores. She might buy up this planet. She might wield illimitable power. But wealth from this source she dare not receive.

This is, one can well understand, a paradox which American society is reluctant to face. It turns the effort of a Continent to fatuity. But it is, if you will but consider it closely, something more important even than that. It is a *reductio ad absurdum* of the capitalist system. That system has solved every problem save the disposal of its surplus, and failing to solve that, it is doomed. We in England partially solved it for a time, with many jars and crises, through the invention of imperialism. As our machines grew more potent and ingenious, we annexed markets. As the surplus grew in the hands of our captains of industry, our bankers and our merchants, we became the world's moneylender. But we threw open our doors to let the interest come pouring in in the shape of consumer's goods. These sated the rich with luxuries, but they brought bread to the poor as well, for we consciously and deliberately allowed our agriculture to decay. The city's debtors beyond the seas sent us our wheat and, finally, our meat and butter. Free Trade is the wise usurers' policy.

That road you too must tread, if you would be sagacious capitalists, wise usurers. You must alter your balance: export less, or import more. It is not enough to plough in one row in three of your cotton fields; plough in two. It is not enough to burn a little wheat. You must allow indebted Canada to feed you. Put the Middle West on the dole. Debt can be enjoyed only in idleness. You are too industrious. Make a scarcity: you will find it wealth.

H. N. Brailsford

London, November 28, 1932.

The Five Year Plan Completed

MAXWELL S. STEWART

ON December 31, four and a quarter years after its inauguration, the first Five Year Plan for the Union of Socialist Soviet Republics comes formally to a close. Hailed at the outset as the basis for a greatly improved standard of living for the Russian people, we find it drawing to a close, ironically though, amidst a disquieting shortage of food and of many of the primary necessities of life. In many instances the quotas set by the original Plan are still far from fulfillment; in others the quotas have proved wholly inadequate to the needs of the country. Great new enterprises have been opened at an enormous sacrifice, only to fail to turn out the expected output on account of lack of organization, shortage of essential raw materials or inefficiency of the labor force.

On this basis are we to conclude that state planning, at least as we find it in Russia, is a failure? Is the problem of integrating the production and consumption of an entire nation too complex and too comprehensive for the mind of man?

The answer to both of these questions, I believe, is an unqualified negative. When compared with economic developments in the outside world, the Soviet record for the past few years has been little short of phenomenal. It is true that there has been a deterioration in the standard of living in certain sections in the past two years, but set against this is the fact that the Soviet Union alone has been able to distribute the shock of the world depression among the entire population instead of allowing it to fall chiefly upon the under-privileged classes. While every other nation, industrial and non-industrial alike, is suffering acutely from unemployment, Russia has experienced a chronic labor shortage. There has been no slackening of economic activity and no curtailment of production; on the contrary, there has been an unprecedented amount of construction of all types: factories, railroads, hydro-electric developments, and housing for the workers. One need only mention the Stalingrad tractor plant, the Nizhni-Novgorod auto factory, the great new steel works at Magnitogorsk and Kuznetsk, and the gigantic hydro-electric project at Dnieperstroi. Where four years ago one found nothing but the expanse of the Russian steppe, there has emerged, almost overnight, great modern factories surrounded by attractively planned "socialist cities," where thousands of workers live under better conditions than they have ever known in their lives.

The contrast between the situation in the Soviet Union and in the Western world is complete. Many of our factories are closed and the physical volume of production has been cut by at least 40 per cent; we bemoan "overproduction." In Russia, on the other hand, with hundreds of new factories working to capacity, there is an embarrassing shortage of almost everything imaginable. Yet in the final year of the Five Year Plan, as in the preceding three years, there has been a substantial increase in industrial production, even though in most cases this year's quota has not been fully attained. During the first nine months of 1932 there was a general increase of 15 per cent in the output of large-scale industry over the corresponding period of 1931. In heavy industry, which is basic to future industrial development, the increase was 22 per cent. It is significant, moreover, that the greatest progress in this past year has been in what have been recognized as the weakest links in Soviet economy—fuel, transport, and the iron and steel industry. Coal production for the first ten months of the past year was 16 per cent above that of the same period of the previous year; freight loadings were nearly six per cent over 1931 and the index of general railway activity nearly 25 per cent above the latter year; while the output of pig-iron showed a gain of over 28 per cent.

ALTHOUGH the Five Year Plan has not been completed in all of its details, most of the basic industries exceeded their quotas for the final year of the Plan in the first six months of 1932. These industries include the machine building industry, which surpassed its quota by more than 50 per cent; the electric industry, the metal industry as a whole, and fuel; while railway traffic exceeded expectations in 1931 and has further increased the anticipated turnover during the present year. Oil production reached its quota under the Plan in the Spring of 1931, and has increased slightly since that date.

It is indisputable, however, that the present output of Soviet factories is still grossly inadequate, and that in many cases the original Five Year Plan under-estimated the requirements. Moreover, it is evident that the progress made by Soviet industry began from very low levels. Pig-iron production in the Soviet Union in 1928, for example, was scarcely one-tenth that of the United States. Viewed in this perspective, Soviet progress has been the more remarkable, for in August and September of this year the output of pig-iron in the U.S.S.R. was not only greater than that of any other country in Europe, which has been the case for a number of months, but even surpassed production in the

United States by more than five per cent. While this must be attributed chiefly to the effect of the world crisis upon American industry, we cannot ignore the fact that Russia has been able to increase its production by more than half in face of declining economic activity throughout the rest of the world.

Soviet progress, moreover, has not been confined to industry. Despite the difficulties encountered in the agricultural field, considerable advance has been scored in the growth of sugar-beets, cotton, rice, and tea—which were formerly not produced in abundance in Russia. The extension of collective and state farms has been far more rapid than called for by the seemingly ambitious quotas in the original *Pyatiletka*. During the season just past 78 per cent of the total crop area was cultivated by collective and state farms, while the average yield on the state farms in 1931 was 25 per cent above that of the individual peasants. It is no secret, however, that the collective farms have not yet solved Russia's basic agricultural problems, as had been hoped. The deeply-grained individualistic tendencies of the peasants have not been wholly overcome by a change in agricultural organization, revolutionary though it may have been. In the Ukraine, for instance, the excessive grain collections of a year ago coupled with the shortage of consumers' goods resulted this year in a serious reduction in the crop acreage. Everywhere lack of organization, insufficient machinery and inadequate training in the operation of such machinery as was available led to difficulties which curtailed agricultural output. With a steady increase in the number of tractors, however, and a greater systematizing of repair work, the latest reports indicate that many of these difficulties were cleared up for the fall sowing, which, after a slow start, virtually reached the level of the best of the previous years. On the state farms the problem of incentives seems to have been more successfully worked out than on the collectives. Farm workers are employed at regular wages, comparable to those obtainable in industry, and, for perhaps the first time in history, agricultural risk has been transferred from the backs of individuals to the broad shoulders of society as a whole.

FOR the average person it is difficult to reconcile the claims of greatly increased production with the universal lack of all kinds of goods, yet the explanation of this seeming paradox is relatively simple. Russia has always been an extremely backward country. There has never been an adequate supply of the necessities of life, and it is doubtful whether there will be for a number of years to come. This is primarily due to the fact that as an agricultural country it is greatly overpopulated. Only about eight per cent of the entire area of the Soviet Union is cultivated, and in the most fertile sections the density of agricultural population is from two to six times as great as in comparable regions in the United States. Moreover, construction under t Five Year Plan has diverted labor and capital from t production of food and goods for immediate consum tion. Exports of all types have been greatly increas in order to secure funds for the purchase of forei machines and factory equipment, while the importati of consumers' goods has practically ceased. The wor crisis has seriously aggravated this situation, as t prices of the agricultural products and raw materi which Russia must export have fallen much more th the prices of articles that it must import.

In addition, a large portion of the national incon has been set aside annually for the extension of educ tion, public health work, and social services of types. The developments in this field are just as mu a part of the Five Year Plan as the construction new factories and the extension of collectivization. T number of students in colleges, universities and high technical schools in Russia has risen from 125,000 1913 to nearly a million and a quarter. Illiteracy h been reduced during the same period from over 70 p cent of the population to approximately one-third th amount. The spread of public health facilities h been equally rapid. Authorities in that field have co to recognize that the Soviet Union has the most co plete and most comprehensive public health progra of any country in the world. Large sums are also s aside each year for research, for cultural activities various kinds, as subsidy for the theater and oper and for social insurance and pensions. Real wag seem to be extremely low until all of these social ben fits are taken into consideration.

Despite the foregoing facts, there are many w would question the "success" of the Five Year Pla It would seem, however, that this view is the result a fundamental misconception of the nature and purpo of national planning. The Soviet Five Year Plan not an arbitrarily fixed set of numbers which must achieved in full; on the contrary, it is an extreme flexible working-estimate, being revised from year year and, if necessary, from month to month. Sta planning is still very definitely in the experiment stage, and many unlooked for problems have dev oped. Nevertheless, it is only fair to say that throu the instrumentality of planning, the Soviet Union h achieved to a large extent the goal that it set for self: the increase of industrial productivity and the d velopment of greater national self-sufficiency. The r ports would indicate that industrial growth has pr ceeded at a more rapid rate than has ever been achiev by any other country. Whether it has been worth t price that has been paid is, of course, another que tion—one which time alone can answer. For the Ru sians, however, it is scarcely debatable. They are immersed in preparation for the Second Five Year Pl that they have no time for what would seem to them be an example of typically bourgeois confusion.

Moral Man and Immoral Society*

A Review by Norman Thomas

REINHOLD NIEBUHR has written a book filled with the learning, and lightened by the brilliance, and inspired by the insight which his friends have learned to expect from him. *Moral Man and Immoral Society* is at once a sign of the times and a contribution to them. That it seems to me in some respects a disappointing contribution may be the fault of my understanding rather than of the author's intention or performance.

Broadly stated, Mr. Niebuhr's thesis is this: Slowly, through the ages, man, as an individual, has developed ethical aspirations, ethical codes and even political practices which are fairly adequate. He has not been able to extend them to society. Man, who desires to be moral, lives in an essentially immoral society. He is, however, under necessity to do the best he can to improve that society. The author then begins an examination of his resources: what is the force and what the limitations of reason and of religion; what can and cannot be done by education as the word is commonly understood; what perils are created by our nationalist organizations and feelings; what may be expected in the behavior of men because of their division into economic classes; on what terms revolution conceivably may be achieved and the place of both political action and violence in achieving it.

As an epistle to the sentimentalists, the romanticists, the believers in panacea, this book is a very effective document. It compels us all to face facts. With the facts the author cites and with most of the conclusions he derives from them it is difficult to quarrel. Yet the first impression of the book upon me was a degree of defeatism which I do not believe the author intends. My quarrel is with his emphases and with his omissions. Moreover, I am not yet ready to accept his conclusion, which runs pretty well throughout the book, that man cannot make substantial progress in social justice without illusion. I am not an authority on modern religious thought. I do not know how much and what kind of illusion one can attribute to religion and still be active within the Christian church. Certainly Mr. Niebuhr's chapter on religious resources raises a great many questions which he does not answer. The word *God* appears frequently but one gets no idea what Mr. Niebuhr means by God or what power God may bring into the universe, including human society. Truth is often expressed in paradox, but when Mr. Niebuhr writes: "The truest visions of religion are illusions which may be partially realized by being resolutely believed," is not the sentiment better suited to a sympathetic onlooker at the great game of Life than to a participant in it—at any rate, to a participant who still wears the colors of religion?

To Mr. Niebuhr by no means all illusions are those which the world calls religious in the narrow sense of that word. A socialist or communist belief in some future society of perfect justice is likewise in his eyes an illusion. In this connection Mr. Niebuhr's concluding sentences are worth quoting:

> Yet there is beauty in our tragedy. We are, at least, rid of some of our illusions. We can no longer buy the highest satisfactions of the individual life at the expense of social injustice. We cannot build our individual ladders to heaven and leave the total human enterprise unredeemed of its excesses and corruptions.
>
> In the task of that redemption the most effective agents will be men who have substituted some new illusions for the abandoned ones. The most important of these illusions is that the collective life of mankind can achieve perfect justice. It is a very valuable illusion for the moment; for justice cannot be approximated if the hope of its perfect realization does not generate a sublime madness in the soul. Nothing but such madness will do battle with malignant power and "spiritual wickedness in high places." The illusion is dangerous because it encourages terrible fanaticisms. It must therefore be brought under control of reason. One can only hope that reason will not destroy it before its work is done.

Mark, it is on this minor note, this qualified hope, that mankind may have enough illusion without having too much, that this gallant search after the truth comes to an end!

IF Mr. Niebuhr made his case that there could be no more hope than he indicates, there might be nothing to do but to accept the bitter truth. He does not make his case. One may admit practically everything he says about human society and yet stoutly maintain that it does not in sum total prove that man is incapable of working toward immense betterment of society without a faith in impossible perfection or that the faith in perfection as a possibility necessarily leads to bitter fanaticism. I agree with the author that education has its limitations as a means of redemption. He has not proved that education cannot help men to visualize and to realize a degree of progress which it does lie within the power of humanity to achieve.

This leads me to consider what seems to me a serious omission in the author's facing of reality. He deals, but only by implication or passing assertion, with what is to my mind the outstanding fact of our time. That

* *Moral Man and Immoral Society.* By Reinhold Niebuhr. Scribners. $2.00.

fact is that we have outlived the long, long ages of scarcity. From the beginning of human life on this planet until now frugality has been enforced by what looked like grim decrees of Nature. Even the most ideal society could hardly promise more than a bare living to men if that living were equitably shared. Capitalism had its rise on the basis of scarcity and was at first inspired by the philosophy of scarcity. It has been the function of capitalism, or at any rate, of the enormous scientific and mechanical progress which has accompanied capitalism, completely to change that basis to one of potential abundance. A very competent economist recently said in private conversation that we in America have now the resources and the mechanical power to provide our whole population with a standard of living about equivalent to that which can be maintained today by a family with an income of $20,000 a year. The condition of this shared abundance is the proper control of machinery in a society in which the social unit has been made larger and more complex, and the alternative to shared abundance is a continuance of economic insecurity and a deadliness of strife which will make the world a hell worse than Dante ever imagined. In other words, mankind is confronted with the alternative: either we must deliberately and consciously manage machinery for collectiv life or let it become the instrument of wholesale death

Now the realization of this potential abundanc which lies within our reach will not by any means auto matically save us. It will not of itself make a narrow shortsighted class interest surrender meekly to an ade quate conception of the social good. Obviously it i not conquering the rampant passions of nationalism even when nationalism interferes with general eco nomic well-being. Nevertheless, the more clearly thi alternative, this new alternative in human experience between abundant life and hideous death is understood by our generation, the more likely it is to strengthen those resources for a better social order which Mr Niebuhr has examined in this book. And no analysis of our resources is truly adequate without far more of an attempt than the author makes to trace the potential bearing of this new situation upon social conduct.

From a drawing by Albert Daenens

The Shut-Down

TO some extent the value of Mr. Niebuhr's realisti study into the place of violence in society and th relation of non-violent to violent coercion is lessened b his failure to interpret the meaning of violence in real istic terms in a world where the wholesale violence o war has at its disposal the immense powers of destruc tion and science. The author has done us a real servic in challenging some of the easy assumptions of superfi cial pacifism. He truly points out that the differenc between non-violent and violent coercion, even as ex emplified by Gandhi himself, is by no means as absolut as some enthusiastis for the former method have as sumed. But after all, there are not many people wh suffer from sentimental pacifism. The great danger i our world arises from the easy acceptance of the in evitability of wholesale violence. Mr. Niebuhr woul have done his general audience a greater service tha he has if he had brought his incisive intelligence t bear more realistically on the grim meaning of whole sale violence in the modern world. If he had done this his contrast between non-violent and violent coercio would have been more effective and more strikingly o the side of the former in so far as it can be worke out. Any study of violence, moreover, might well hav included a somewhat more detailed historical inquir into the role of violent and non-violent methods i effecting social change. The assumption in our moder world that in the past great violence has been produc tive of great change or that great change has require great violence needs re-examination in the light o facts. Unquestionably Mr. Niebuhr would agree t all this but his book would have had, at least upon m an impression of completeness that it now lacks.

MY final criticism of Mr. Niebuhr's omissions ha to do with the treatment of the class struggle of the role of the proletariat, and the like. The chap ters dealing with these matters are among the best tha

as written. His deflation of middle-class pride in wn morality is quite magnificent. I should agree usiastically with the large outlines of his general ure, but I regret that some of the details were not er filled in. In brief, I think that when Mr. Niebuhr s with the proletariat, especially the American pro- riat, in spite of certain sentences which show that s aware of the complexity of his problem, he tends ard an oversimplification—the kind of simplifica- that will be very appropriate, in all probability, he historian a hundred or, still better, five hundred s hence, to whom a generation is but as a day to In other words, the proletariat in America, as ywhere else, may quite likely fulfill the revolution- role that Mr. Niebuhr, who approaches without pletely accepting a Leninistic version of Marx, gests for it. But what we men who have to live in year 1932 want to know is why the proletariat does now accept that role. Mr. Niebuhr is quite too e to join in the easy and facile criticism of parties men for personal or group failure to win the ses.

ome such criticism may be justified, but a study of history of the American working class shows that t of this criticism, as ladled out by our young in- ectuals who have just discovered Marx, is pretty erficial. What became of the genuine working class darity and idealism which inspired the unsophisti- ed Knights of Labor movement and later, incarnate he great Gene Debs, raised the American Railway ion to such power? By what processes did the ons, which were the spiritual children of Meyer ndon in New York City, become the eminently ractical" unions which they are today? Why in the r 1932 are workers so much more docile than they e in the '70's? What motives of racial loyalty, or titude to a benevolent capitalist who has been ndly to labor, led such great multitudes of workers vote for Herbert Lehman for Governor last No- mber? These are days when I am receiving an im- nse amount of advice both from the right and the t about the future of the Socialist Party. It is too lical or it is not revolutionary enough. One group critics or another may be right, but not all of them. w of them have considered the fact that the political ups of the discontented, both to the right and to left of the Socialists, fared far worse than the cialists in the last election and have less political or, organization and enthusiasm now.

I think that I myself, and certainly Mr. Niebuhr, uld answer each one of the foregoing specific ques- ns and others like them fairly satisfactorily in de- l; and yet detailed explanations of the failure in rying degree of the Knights of Labor, the I. W. W., e A. F. of L., the Populist Party, the Socialist Party, e Communist Party to do more than as yet they have done in America hardly goes to the root of the matter. The plain truth is that in America the middle-class psychology is still dominant even among the workers. And while the workers often show superb class loyalty in concrete struggles, as yet the middle class has far more solidarity than the workers. I think I can explain the reasons in terms of the pioneer conditions and psychology of America, the fact that until recently our civilization, cruelly unjust as it is, has offered enough prizes in the lottery to stimulate vigorous and ambitious men to rise out of their class instead of to help their class to rise; and the immense intensification of racial consciousness as one of the grim consequences of chattel slavery. But these explanations do not help us as much as we should like, to find wisdom to change a baffling and dangerous situation. Mr. Niebuhr, in attempting as ambitious a book as he has attempted and in stating as definite conclusions as he has stated about the proletariat ought to have considered these factors and shed upon them the light of his insight.

I am aware that this review is rather unfair, in that while I think the book deserves more praise than blame, I have concentrated on the latter in my criticism. Really, in so doing I am paying the highest compliment to the author. He has, I think, one of the most stimulating minds and one of the purest purposes in America. We need him and his guidance sorely. I cannot but think that he might have given us a book which would have been equally uncompromising in pursuit of truth and yet have left behind less of the impression of defeatism than he, probably unwittingly, has given to me and, I fear, will give to other readers.

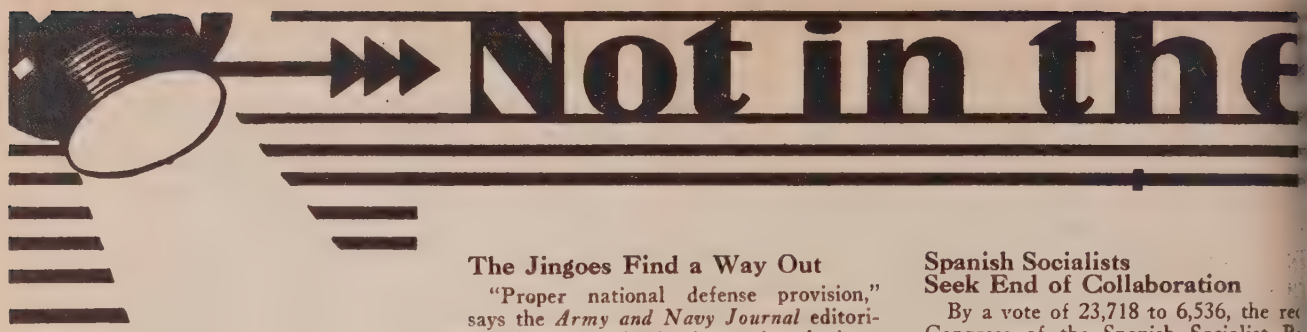
Tomorrow

BEYOND the blue immensity
Of this illimitable sea
Of stars and darkness, morning waits—
A beggar at the bolted gates,
Outside the walls of his desire.

From edge to edge, the jewelled loom
Awaits inevitable doom
Of dawn, whose rising challenge calls
Capitulation from the walls,
Surrender from the topmost spire.

Night's sentinel now vainly keeps
A vigil while the Master sleeps;
Soon now the beggar's morning glow,
Like ambergris on indigo,
Illumines all the world with fire.

CARL JOHN BOSTELMANN



Argentina Sponsors Anti-War Plan

The text of a proposed anti-war pact which Argentina submitted to the Foreign Offices of other South American countries last June has recently been made public by Foreign Minister Saavedra Lamas. The covenant would outlaw war and establish conciliation machinery in the form of a commission of five members to be appointed whenever conflicts arise. The signatory nations would bind themselves not to recognize territorial occupation or acquisition achieved by force and to take joint action in enforcing political and economic sanctions against an aggressor nation. Two conflicting nations would appoint one member each to the commission, the other three members, none of whom may be a national of either of the litigants, to be appointed by agreement between the contesting nations. The statement of the Foreign Office made it plain that "this is no effort to revoke the Briand-Kellogg pact" but rather "to complement it. . . ."

Yaroslav Hydro-Electric Station

Having completed the great electric plant at Dnieprostroy, the Soviet authorities have commenced work on the "Sredyevolgostroy," the Yaroslav hydro-electric station, which is to be the most important part of the reconstruction of the Volga. The concrete work needed for this dam, sluice, and station, will require 1,100,000 cubic metres of concrete, more than was used on the project at Dnieprostroy.

Massachusetts Warms Up to the League

In 11 communities of Massachusetts the voters were given an opportunity to vote on the question of whether or not their representatives should be instructed to vote to request the President of the United States and the Senate "to enter into full coöperation and membership in the League of Nations," with reservations. Every one of the communities, reports the League of Nations Association, voted in favor, no place by a vote of less than three to two and in seven instances better than two to one. Six years ago the same question was placed on the ballot in the city of Malden; 65 per cent voted against it. Two years ago 56 per cent voted in favor. This year, in the 11 communities which voted on the question, 64 per cent of the total vote was in favor.

The Jingoes Find a Way Out

"Proper national defense provision," says the *Army and Navy Journal* editorially, "would make foreign nations hesitate to proceed to extreme measures. They would cease telling us what we 'must' do, and the debt coalition against us would fall apart like a house of cards. In the interest of our security and our peace, we urge that Congress parallel its debt cancellation refusal by the increases suggested in the army and navy."

The Penalty for Feeding the Nation

The American wheat grower is getting an average return of $4.43 an acre; the American cotton grower is getting $9.66 an acre. It costs far more than this in labor, taxes, threshing, seed, etc. to produce these crops, without including the mortgage interest and repayments.

Lenin Library

A new building is being erected in Moscow to house an all-union public library of 8,000,000 volumes, with reading halls to accommodate 3,000 readers, with rest-rooms, studies, special halls for meetings of scientific bodies, etc., as well as room for a college of library training. Of the five wings contemplated, which are to be constructed of Italian marble, Finnish granite, and Russian stones, one wing is already roofed in. Completion of the project is anticipated by the end of 1933.

Catholics Demand New Order

At a regional conference held November 20 at Fordham University, one of four such conferences being conducted by the National Catholic Alumni Federation throughout the country, a crusade for social justice was launched, with the immediate goal of spreading the word that capitalism, in its present form "has failed and must continue to fail." The Rev. James Gillis, editor of the *Catholic World,* asserted that a social upheaval "is necessary and is bound to come . . . what happened in Russia can happen here." Thomas F. Woodlock, former Interstate Commerce Commissioner and an editor of the *Wall Street Journal,* stated that the depression was not merely part of a cycle, but was the end of an era. "Our present system," said Mr. Woodlock, "will not work; unfortunately we made this discovery before we found it was unjust." The delegates decided to extend their crusade beyond the limits of the Catholic Church and to make it a national issue.

Spanish Socialists Seek End of Collaboration

By a vote of 23,718 to 6,536, the re Congress of the Spanish Socialist P passed the following significant resoluti "The Conference declares that the part pation of the Socialist Party in the gove ment should be brought to an end as s as circumstances permit, without dam to the consolidation and strengthening the Republic, or danger to the left t dency indicated for the new regime in fundamental law of the state and in other complementary laws already proved, which tendency must likewise assured in the laws which still have to passed by the Cortes Constituyentes."

At it Again

Editor and Publisher reports that Empire Gas and Fuel Company, a Her L. Doherty utility company, bought e torial space in Kansas newspapers. T amount involved, about $25,000, was k separately from the advertising fu When Governor Woodring ordered an vestigation into gas rates in Kansas, utility also took advertising space in papers and the flood of unfavorable co ment about the utility fell off rapidly.

International Barter

An arrangement has been effected tween Czechoslovakia and Denma whereby Czechoslovak textile and gl will be exchanged for 140 metric tons Danish butter. By a similar arrangeme with Poland nine carloads of eggs will imported from that country against sh ment of Czechoslovak automobiles a malt beverage.

Siam's Age of Enlightenment

The new Siamese constitution, broug about through the coup d'etat of June 2 is to be officially signed by King Prajadh pok on December 10. It is reported th the King himself took the leading part drafting the new instrument, whi brought an end to the absolute monarc and which provides among other things f a legislature that, pending a ten-ye education program, is to consist half members appointed by the King and ha of members elected from the various pro inces. The King retains the power to di solve the legislature. Since the coup a poli of retrenchment has enabled the country pay off a debt to Great Britain befo maturity and to launch a program for th development of public health, educatio and agriculture. All factions are seeming united under the new arrangement.

Headlines

The Relief Racket

Roger Babson recently declared: "Organized relief is benefiting the politicians more than the distressed unemployed. It is the biggest racket in the country, and all politicians, high and low, are its chief beneficiaries." The *Progressive* adds: "Organized relief with its community chests, its coerced donations from those who themselves are close to want, its arbitrary taxing of a day's pay . . ., is a racket in more ways than one. It is a rich man's racket used to make relief a local responsibility and forestall income tax or other state or national relief legislation."

Enrollment in American High-Schools

Enrollment in American high-schools increased 99.9 per cent between 1920 and 1930. During the same period elementary school enrollment increased only 10 per cent, while the increase in enrollment in the first grade was only 3.9 per cent.

Undernourished Children

"There are in the United States about 6,000,000 children of school age who are improperly nourished. Mr. Hoover denied this during his campaign. Now it has been shown that he himself made that statement during the White House Conference on Child Health and Protection on Nov. 19, 1930.

New Magazine—"Rebelart"

Rebel Arts, an organization of artists who contribute to the Socialist movement, announces publication of a monthly magazine to be known as *Rebelart*. The purpose of the paper is to bring to the workers and intellectuals of America the most realistic of radical discussion on the class struggle in its current and historic phases. Graphic art, essays, short stories, poems and plays may be sent to F. H. Lowenstein, editor, 112 East 19th St., New York City.

Why Overproduction

A surge forward in industrial productivity, rivalling in its intensity and in the scope of its effects the industrial revolution of the 18th and early 19th centuries, occurred during the decade following the World War. This is one of the striking conclusions of an exhaustive analysis of this period published on November 21 by the National Bureau of Economic Research, issued under the title, *Economic Tendencies in the United States: Aspects of Pre-War and Post-War Changes.*

Youth and Revolution

The average age of leaders in the American Revolutionary War was less than 40. When Turkey shook off her yoke the average age of her leaders was 32. The awakening of China was accomplished by men in their late thirties. The French Revolution was conducted by men of an average age of 38.

Civil Service Bill in Belgium

Refusal to render military service under the conscription laws is becoming so widespread in Belgium, says the War Resisters International, that a new bill has been recently presented to the Senate by E. van Dieren, a Flemish Nationalist Senator, for dealing with the situation. Its main provisions are as follows: 1. Applicants who refuse to render military service must write to the Minister of Defense, stating the reasons for their refusal. Reasons may be religious, political, or pacifist. 2. Applicants shall not be handcuffed when brought before the Military Council. 3. Penalties shall not be of longer duration than the shortest term of military service. 4. Having endured a term of imprisonment, a man shall be free from all military obligations and shall enjoy all political rights. The bill was rejected, but will be reintroduced by a Socialist Senator when there is greater chance of its passage.

The U. S. and the League

Felix Morley points out that the United States is now represented in the work of more League committees than any regular League member except the five powers with permanent seats in the Council.

Mustapha Not Enough

Another step in the westernization of Turkey is the law now being prepared to compel all residents of the country to choose a family name. Names must be chosen within six months after promulgation of the new law.

Women's Depression Wages

The decrease in living costs, says the Federal Women's Bureau, averaged about ten per cent during the year from December, 1930, to December, 1931, but the wages of 600 Y. W. C. A. industrial girls reporting by questionnaire to an executive committee of that organization fell more than twice that much.

Negroes in Business

The Crisis reports that in the United States last year there were 25,701 retail stores conducted by Negroes with stocks on hand valued at $15,000,000, whose sales amounted to $125,000,000 and whose payroll for the year totaled $9,000,000. Every state has at least one retail store owned by Negroes. Georgia is first, with 2,110 stores, and Colorado last with one store.

A Christmas Suggestion

From Le Rire and The New Leader (London)

Medicine Unbound

GEORGE A. COE

THE brightest feather in the cap of capitalism is the support that it has given to medical research, medical education, and the building of hospitals. Here profits have been applied, neither to the making of more profits nor to luxurious living and conspicuous display, but to strictly humanitarian uses widely distributed. Let us applaud all donors who have chosen these high ends as their own; but let us also ask whether these high ends are not partly defeated by the economic system whereby such donors acquire the wealth that they give away. The truth is that the noble profession of medicine is in a sadly dislocated condition because of the economic forces that beat upon it and within it.

There is to begin with an over-supply of physicians. On this account the medical schools are turning away a multitude of applicants and would-be applicants. In a single building in a city of less than 65,000 people, four score practitioners have their offices. In every considerable center of population the struggle for patronage is intense. Though the code of the medical society prevents its members from revealing this fact by open advertising, it does not forbid them to make themselves prominent in lodges, clubs, social affairs, churches, and news columns. A few, especially surgeons, achieve a large income, but the rank and file are gnawed by a sense of insecurity. Nobody pretends that income is distributed in proportion to the services that are rendered to patients.

An over-supply of physicians, but an under-supply of medical services! And under-supply not only among Negroes, but also among whites whose income, though it is sufficient to exclude them from free clinics, is not sufficient to pay doctors' fees and hospital charges. An under-supply, also, of preventive work. The number of child-birth fevers and fatalities in the United States is exceptionally high, even scandalously so; the children of this country, as surveys of limited school populations show, are in deplorable need of hygienic and therapeutic service; the incidence of nervous diseases and of mental disintegration is enormous and growing, and there isn't a sign that we are going to check or control it. There is an under-supply of preventive work with individuals, too, for in a society where insecurity is the rule it is the rare individual who feels that he can afford to pay a physician for keeping him well.

The fees of physicians and of surgeons are an ethical and economic chaos. There is a shade of sense in the theory of adjusting the bill to the ability of the patient to pay, for this enables the physician who col lects high fees from some to accept small pay fro others or to treat them gratuitously. But see ho stupidly this principle works. How much should eac class of patients be expected to pay? Some practi tioners charge "all that the traffic will bear"; som avoid attracting patronage from the poor, or even re fuse it when it appears at the door; some have a good ness of heart that subjects them to burdens that hav the effect of exploitation. As long as the practice o medicine depends upon fees, this helter-skelter will no give place to order and decency. A surgeon presente a bill for $5,000 for a rather commonplace operation "Doctor, isn't this pretty high?" inquired the debtor "Yes," answered the surgeon, "but this is the way tha I must get my pay for the free work that I do." Bu who knows how much free work he did to justify thi extravagant fee, or how much he ought to do?

EVEN the provision for free medical services is social and economic mess. Who are the poor wh are entitled to the services of free clinics? When is person poor, and when is one not poor? And did w say "entitled"? Who in this country actually i *entitled* to have his life saved when he is attacked b curable disease? Free clinics encourage economi parasitism in some, while they humiliate others wh despise parasitism but must accept help where it can b procured. Moreover, the burden of uncompensate medical service is not distributed among physician upon any principle whatever. One serves because h teaches medical students who require clinical demon strations; another because he desires to extend his ow clinical experience; still another because membershi in a hospital staff brings recognition and desirabl patients. Meantime, how many other practitioner need clinical experience that they cannot get?

The standards for medical schools have risen rapidl in recent years, though not too rapidly nor too high but the cost of a medical education is so distribute that the student's part of it is too great. The fiv economically unproductive years—four in the medica school and one as interne—are a proper concern fo the entire profession and for the public as well. T deny this would be equivalent to asserting that med cine is a matter of investments and profits, a busines and not a profession. At present, medical student who work long hours at high pressure at college ar forced to the very edge of the subsistence level. Man of them endeavor to live upon a diet that is neithe

iquate nor wholesome. The prinicples of hygiene they learn in the classroom they violate at table. r science is bound, not free.

The training and the work of nurses bring to view her economic wart upon the face of our medical em. For the hospital experience that provides the ining is in large measure an experience of what properly be described as sweated labor. From this graduate nurse moves at a step into the high paid ice of a few individuals who can afford it, while ents who need it go without such service altogether esort to the dangerous expedient of employing a actical nurse".

THE physician's relations with the commercial world tend strongly towards osmosis between pro-ional and non-professional motives and standards. nedicine a business or a profession? An open ex-t of the dealings of physicians with pharmacists the makers of pharmaceutical and other supplies ld reveal an unhappy mixture of forces—unhappy, t is, for science and ultimately for the patient. reover, in spite of their necessary intimacy with drug business, physicians have established no sys-whereby patients can assuredly procure pure drugs, pounded according to prescription, and at a rea-able price.

Indeed, from every direction business ethics ob-ides upon professional ethics like a wintry wind t blows upon one who is thinly clad. Strict follow-of the medical code must compete with a horde of ctitioners who secretly compromise or else openly er medical bargain sales and illusory short-cuts to alth. Many of these parasites possess a medical de-ee. They are therefore an exhibit of what the tivation of business will do toward lowering the ndards of a profession when it has its own way.

The most thoughtful of our medical men are con-ous of some of the issues herein mentioned. There in fact, an increasing sense that the profession must ht for its life. A part of the struggle is within the fession itself, as exemplified by the contest with chanized and commercialized medical institutes con-cted by regular physicians. Another phase of the uggle for survival is the recent policy of spreading road a surprising array of medical information. This ducation of the public" is, in fact, one of the major vances of medical practice in our time. But as yet st of the efforts to protect professional standards, d nearly all approaches to the public that employs d supports the physician, assume the validity of the ce-and-profit system that is making nearly all the uble. Every evil mentioned in this article has its rce precisely here, and in every one of these in-nces we find the profession bound, and not free to lize its full potentiality.

Practitioners and laymen alike need to think upon the possible contributions of medical skill to an entire population taken as a totality—say, that of the United States. If science could have unobstructed way, how high could the health level of the nation be raised? Suppose we had a continuous national health survey; then, at critical points, the massing of medical forces (educational, preventive, and therapeutic); next, access of any individual, regardless of the size of his income, to any kind of medical help that he needs; finally, for every physician, two things: lifelong financial security and—as a personal reward for skilled service—unbounded opportunity to increase his skill. Suppose that we put the whole practice of medicine upon this national but non-capitalistic basis. Is it not plainly to be seen that the profession would be released from unnumbered strains and drags that now interfere with scientific thoroughness?

The Shadow

NIGHT is nothing but a small
Shadow-cone behind a ball.

It is a gentle, tiny flaw
Hiding from vast, blazing law,

Running, hiding its cool face
Behind the turning specks in space.

There is no room for it to be
Between the stars and galaxy,

Perishable as a feather
Where suns stand and sing together.

From the face of God it hides
On the planets' unlit sides.

Yet without this little cone
God would be too much alone,

And smiling, universally kind,
Have eyes with light completely blind.

Strange miracle of a flaw to show
How deity itself can grow!

For every morning to the light
Turn the flowers born of night.

From the dark earth rise the ones
Who can call themselves God's sons.

ROBERT P. TRISTRAM COFFIN

The Book End

With occasional exceptions important enough to merit dra criticism, THE WORLD TOMORROW *reviews only books which believes, after careful evaluation, are of genuine wor*

When He Sat in the Seat of Power

The Nation At War. By General Peyton C. March. Doubleday, Doran and Company. $3.00.

NEARLY 14 years after the Armistice the war-time Chief of Staff of the United States Army records his impressions of the part played by America in the Great War. The magnitude of the effort put forth and the titanic accomplishments of those days can be only dimly apprehended by the generation which has since arisen. At the conclusion of hostilities four millions of American young men were in uniform and two millions of them had been transported overseas. During a single month at the peak, 306,000 of our soldiers were carried across the Atlantic. The financial operations of that period reached such colossal proportions as to stagger imagination. General March, in a casual fashion, says: "I asked for an appropriation of nearly $8,000,000,000 for the final drive. . . . We got the appropriation." Eight billions! By a country which during the present crises has limited its Federal appropriations for direct relief of the 11 million unemployed to a paltry 300 millions!

Pacifists who maintain that modern war is impossible without propaganda of hatred and the resort to conscription are strongly supported by the former Chief of Staff. Voluntary enlistment was an utter failure. ". . . the cold fact was that after ten days' hard work we raised less than 5,000 men. As the end of April, 1917, neared, only some 30,000 men had been obtained. It was the poorest showing America had ever made in all her history. . . ."

Concerning the causes and purposes of the war, General March seems to be entirely oblivious. That future wars will occur he takes for granted, and says that a certain policy which he adopted "stands as a model to be followed in all future wars." The seizure by our Government of 400,000 tons of Dutch shipping interned in American waters is recorded without comment. His inability to fathom the significance of the position taken by conscientious objectors to war is typical of the military mind. To demand active war service "is no more an invasion of the rights of the individual than it is for him to be drawn for jury duty from a list of available citizens." After the Armistice General March recommended an army of 500,000 men "as the paper strength," founded on "a system of universal training for limited periods of the youth of the country when they became 19 years of age."

The Chief of Staff reveals an extremely high regard for Secretary of War Baker. He often expresses admiration for Woodrow Wilson, although he confesses that "President Wilson only interfered twice with the military operations of the War Department . . . and both times he was wrong." But toward General Pershing he manifests strong antipathy, which seems to have been reciprocated.

From numerous interesting facts and incidents herein recorded, the following have been selected: The demand for metal was so heavy that "the old type corset using steel stiffening was ab ished. . . . Metal was saved even in caskets for the dead." Nea a third of all troops moved were in Pullmans. The British gove ment submitted a bill at a flat rate of $150 for every Americ soldier transported on British ships, which General March s amounted to a total overcharge of about 67 million dollars. "Ru less barbarity repugnant to the conscience of the civilized wor is the language used to describe gas warfare. Yet in the reorga zation of the army Congress "reinstated the Chemical Warfa Service, which the War Department recommended be abolish and has since carried a complete organization, not for investig tion of gases and safety appliance, but for fighting with t barbarous weapon, regardless of the treaty which was ratifi by the United States." K. P.

From Forty-Four Volumes

Confessions of the Power Trust. By Carl D. Thompson. E. Dutton. $5.00.

"I AM not determining the righteousness of what you ha done. We are determining what you have done."

These words of Federal Trade Commissioner McCulloch to power company official characterize most admirably both the vestigation over which he was presiding and the book in whi Carl Thompson summarizes the findings, to date, of that inves gation.

On the 15th of February, 1928, the United States Senate end a hard-fought struggle by passing the famous Walsh Resoluti providing for an investigation of public utility corporations. Ori nally Walsh had proposed an investigation by the Senate itself, b a substitute motion by Senator George, who admitted afterwa that he really wanted no investigation at all, turned the job ov to the Federal Trade Commission. The fight made by the utilit to prevent the passage of the resolution was in itself one of t most interesting parts of their "confession." But that is mer introductory to the real confessions that have been made duri these past four years, as Commissioner McCulloch, ably assisted Judge Healy and a staff of attorneys, accountants and enginee has little by little drawn the story from reluctant and protesti witnesses.

And a most amazing story it is, amazing in its disclosures practices which, though technically legal, were of such doubtf character that the companies made a habit of hiding behind pa agents who pretended to be acting independently and disinteres edly; and of other practices which heretofore the utilities ha positively denied.

Briefly, the investigation has proved, among other things, (that the combination movement in the power industry has alrea reached a point undreamed of by laymen or even by most studer of public utilities; (2) that the propaganda work of the utiliti has been carried into every conceivable field: schools, colleg

's clubs, granges, labor organizations, business men's clubs, "every known means of publicity except sky-writing"; (3) ock watering is a very common practice, despite the fre- assertions to the contrary by the companies and their apolo- uring recent years; (4) that enormous profits have been and (5) that the utilities are "in politics," both openly and y, to a degree that has probably never been duplicated, ex- ossibly by the railroads in the malodorous era of Jay Gould m Fisk.

yet the 44 volumes of testimony on which this book is based have remained almost unknown to the public but for the of certain individuals who have followed the proceedings ave edited and arranged and condensed the enormous mass ta. Of these men, Carl D. Thompson, Secretary of the Ownership League of America, heads the list. *Confessions e Power Trust* is, as far as I know, the only book which ys all the testimony and presents a complete picture of what een disclosed thus far. And it presents it clearly, logically mpersonally.

COLEMAN B. CHENEY

For Opening Closed Minds

lution in Economic Life. By W. Russell Shull. Elgin Press. 50.

HIS book is an excellent introduction to the problem of reli- gion and economic change for the average layman. It doesn't anything new to the readers of THE WORLD TOMORROW but a book which they can put in the hands of church people se eyes are not yet open to the need of radical economic ge. It is clear, interesting, and persuasive. It would be a good to use as a basis for a series of discussions on economic prob- in a church group.

is foolish to criticize so useful a book as this for what it does do, but the author is clearer in his criticisms of the capitalistic em than in his constructive suggestions. He leaves one with idea that the chief thing for us to eliminate is the profit motive that it is possible to do that under either a capitalistic or a alistic economic system, though he tries to remove the pre- ices against socialism. He does not show that more funda- ntal than the profit motive is the present system of ownership ch carries with it the right to make profit. Also, he has nothing say about the political means for bringing about an economic olution. This vagueness about constructive changes may be a agogical device which will make the book more useful now in ning closed minds—a big enough job for one book. It is how- r unfortunate that ministers and churches must always be arer in condemning the present system than in suggesting any rnative.

JOHN C. BENNETT

WE RECOMMEND

e Ratification of the Federal Constitution in North Carolina. By Louise Irby Trenholme. Columbia University Press. $4.50. This authoritative history should be made required reading for opponents of the League of Nations. In the first North Caro- ina convention called to consider ratification, the adverse vote was 184 to 93. Among the arguments against entering the Fed- eral Union was the contention that the Pope of Rome might be elected President of the United States.

Gandhi's Fast—Its Cause and Significance. British No More War Movement, 11 Doughty St., London W. C. 1, England. One Penny. A pamphlet containing an excellent summary of the facts and future of the Gandhi victory.

Our Wonderland of Bureaucracy. By James M. Beck. Macmillan Company. $3.00. In addition to reflecting the mental processes of one of the purest specimens of reaction to be found in the land, this volume contains valuable statistical data concerning the various activities of the Federal Government. A table shows the receipts and expenditures of the government each year from the beginning down to date.

The Era of the Muckrakers. By C. C. Regier. The University of North Carolina Press. $2.50. Here is a nauseating account of corruption by big business during the first decade of this century. Invaluable to serious students of capitalism.

CORRESPONDENCE

Missions and Marx and Lenin

SHERWOOD EDDY, in his article "Probing to the Roots of Missions," gave an impressive picture of the sweeping changes in the missionary enterprise that are certain to follow the report of the Commission of Appraisal of the Laymen's Foreign Missions Inquiry. No one can doubt that a great deal of useless dead wood, in the sense of obsolete and inadequate thought and behavior patterns, will be swept away in this and other countries, as the implications of the Inquiry are fully understood. However, it seems to me peculiarly unfortunate that in its analysis and positive proposals, particularly in regard to social and economic changes, the Commission does not go beyond Protestant liberalism.

One of the major illusions of liberalism—whether in religion or politics—is that there is a presuppositionless position and an "open mind." Persons or groups that seek to claim neutrality in the class struggle tacitly support the *status quo*. The report declares that "without in any way committing the mission or church to a labor program, we believe that more intelligent effort should be directed toward understanding the questions at issue in labor organizations." Elsewhere it is advised that missions should maintain an open mind in approaching these economic and political questions. The only socialism that is approved is the kind that is "an effort to devise a plan to cure some of the most glaring evils of the modern industrial order." In other words, a British Labor Party type of gradualism, which has little of the robustness of capitalism and few of the values of genuine socialism, is held up for appreciation.

In referring to communism, care is taken to imply that Russian Communism is entirely beyond serious consideration as an alternative for Christians. Finally, as if to leave no misunderstanding concerning the loyalties of the Commission, the report states that missions should not be the advocate of any particular economic order, and, in the next paragraph, points out that this inevitably means that "the mission owes to the political order under which it operates its loyal obedience." As is usually the case in religious pronouncements by groups much less able intellectually than the personnel of the Commission, there is no recognition that, in terms of group relationships, as long as we remain within the framework of capitalism, as all religious organizations are, we automatically support the economic order of capitalism unless we

ideologically disassociate ourselves from capitalism and stand forthrightly for a highly socialized world order.

It is interesting to note how sharply this attitude of the Commission outlined itself in one of the reports in the press. Christians were urged to seek contact and make common cause with non-Christian religions in combatting the philosophy of Marx and Lenin. In radical and labor circles that day I heard many "I told you so's." Since that release was given to the press, I have had some correspondence with Dr. Hocking about the matter, and he assures me that the Commission is opposing the philosophic views of Marx and Lenin and not necessarily the economic system for which they stood. This fine point is never understood by the undiscriminating reader of such a news release. Furthermore, there is a very grave question whether the Commission has not done a great disservice to high religion by contrasting so irreconcilably the religious qualities that inhere in the dialectical materialism of Marx and Lenin (mind you, not the mechanistic materialism of the nineteenth century) and the religious qualities which inhere in absolute idealism.

New Haven, Conn. FRANCIS A. HENSON

From an Indignant Jayhawker

AS a native of Kansas, I feel compelled to correct certain false impressions which will probably result from the inclusion of that state in the statistical table of seventeen "Southern" states alleged to be unfair in the matter of high school facilities for Negroes, reprinted in your issue of November 23 from *The Journal of Negro Education*. In the first place, Kansas is not a "Southern" state, climatically, historically, or socially; Kansas is Midwestern and to classify her otherwise arouses in me, as a Jayhawker, even more violent reactions of disapproval than those inspired by Southern friends' calling me a Yankee, with or without prefix. Much more important, however, is the suggestion, implicit in the table above-mentioned, that Kansas offers facilities in only one high school in the state to the 50,000 and more Negroes in the population. As a matter of fact, the one "Negro" high school mentioned in this table is quite an anomaly, since in all the Kansas high schools with which I have an acquaintance Negroes and whites are admitted to the same buildings and classes. This is not to deny, of course, that in Kansas, as in all other states of the Union, Negroes are frequently made the victims of most outrageous discrimination; but in the matter of high school facilities they are not treated in the unjust manner suggested by this misleading tabular summary.

Cambridge, Mass. KENNETH W. PORTER

League For Mutual Aid

SOME day we may have universal unemployment insurance; some day we may have national employment exchanges; now we have chaos. But even today much can be done by the coöperative effort of those most struck by the terrors of the present depression.

We think your readers will be interested to learn of a venture based on the principles of mutual aid that is known as the League for Mutual Aid. This little-known organization is made up of members joined together to aid each other in getting jobs and to lend money without interest. An office with a competent secretary is maintained as a clearing house for jobs. A revolving loan fund has been built up from deposits and contributions of the members. Unemployed members list themselves for vacancies as they occur. Loans are made without interest or red-tape upon the endorsements of members and friends. During the past year over 250 jo were filled and $13,500 loaned. All this was done by a sma organization of 600 members, operating on dues of $5.00 a year.

The emergency now upon us calls for extension of our wor and vastly greater activity. We invite any of your readers wh are interested to join with us, to report jobs they hear of, t avail themselves of our services, and to coöperate in all possibl ways. The League for Mutual Aid is at Room 2004, 104 Fift Avenue, New York City.

New York, N. Y. ADELAIDE SCHULKIND,
For the Executive Committee.

ANNOUNCEMENTS

Anti-War Posters

A COLLECTION of anti-war pictures, assembled by Pro fessor F. S. Onderdonk, of Ann Arbor, Michigan, is bei offered for free distribution. The pictures, which should prove ve useful for display purposes at peace meetings, may be obtained fro Mrs. Chanler, New History Society, 132 East 65th Street, Ne York, N. Y. Requests to have pictures mailed must be accompa ied by carrying charges.

More Books Needed

THE Highlander Folk School, Monteagle, Tennessee, esta lished "to educate rural and industrial leaders for a ne social order," is greatly in need of books. The work of the scho extends into the community in the form of night classes a community clubs so that books on general topics are needed as w as works dealing with labor, socialism, and communism and boo dealing with the general economic and social problems of t day. No one connected with the school receives a salary and there is an extremely limited amount for running expenses, t co-directors of the institution, Mr. Myles Horton and Mr. D West, will be grateful for contributions of literature to help ca on the work.

Gandhi Drawings Aid Relief Fund

LITHOGRAPHS of an excellent likeness of Mahatma Gand drawn by Rosaling Yuping Wong, are being published The Challenge, Ltd., 92 Great Russell Street, London, W. C. for the benefit of the Hankow Relief Fund. The price of t lithograph is one shilling. A larger reproduction may be had t two shillings, six pence.

World Tomorrow Radio Hour

Station WEVD — **Tuesday**
1300K—231M — **Dec. 13—8:15 P.M.**

Speaker: Devere Allen

Other weekly features of Station WEVD:

The Group Theater, Sunday, 8:30 P.M.
Michael Strange, Tuesday, 5:15 P.M.
Hendrik Van Loon, Friday, 8:15 P. M.

Who's Who in This Issue

Carl John Bostelmann is a frequent contributor to journals of poetry and is the author of several volumes of verse.

Robert P. Tristram Coffin, poet, biographer and essayist, is the author of numerous works, including *Christchurch* (poetry), *Golden Falcon* (poetry), and *Portrait of an American.*

Coleman B. Cheney is professor of economics at Skidmore College, Saratoga, N. Y.

John C. Bennett is professor of Christian theology at Auburn Theological Seminary.

Francis Henson is economic adviser to the National Labor and Religion Foundation.

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This Week's Anniversary

JOHN GREENLEAF WHITTIER

BORN DECEMBER 17, 1807

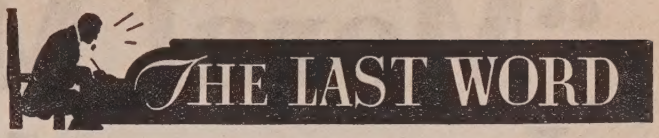
Our fellow-country-men in chains!
Slaves, in a land of light and law!
Slaves, crouching on the very plains
Where rolled the storm of Freedom's war! . . .

What ho! our country men in chains!
The whip on woman's shrinking flesh.
Our soil yet reddening with the stains
Caught from her scourging, warm and fresh! . . .

Speak! shall their agony of prayer
Come thrilling to our hearts in vain?
To us whose fathers scorned to bear
The paltry menace of a chain;
To us, whose boast is loud and long
Of holy Liberty and Light;
Say, shall these writhing slaves of Wrong
Plead vainly for their plundered Right? . . .

Rise now for Freedom! not in strife
Like that your sterner fathers saw,
The awful waste of human life,
The glory and the guilt of war:
But break the chain, the yoke remove,
And smite to earth Oppression's rod,
With those mild arms of Truth and Love,
Made mighty through the Living God!

—From *Expostulation,* 1834.



THAT was a delightsome story which filled the papers, in odd corners, around mid-November, about the woman to whom Robert Louis Stevenson willed his birthday in perpetuity. She was then a little girl, and lost all her own birthday celebrations because her anniversary fell on Christmas Day. The only condition was that she should observe the day faithfully, for at the first breach, the "estate" would pass to the President of the United States. All this was forty-one years ago. Eccentricus revives the story here because it has started him on a rereading of Stevenson. And he has emerged confirmed in his previous conviction: that no book that Stevenson ever wrote could surpass in charm his little volume of adventures, agreeable and otherwise, through the wild, uncharted hilltops of the Cevennes in the south of France. *Travels With a Donkey* is not only a rattling yarn of simple travel; it is a study of all the worst and best in donkey nature, and let no one forget that the donkey has meant much to the race; it is a homily upon human nature in its remoter, untamed manifestations; it is a probe into the character of highlanders hidden behind dim centuries above the plains of the Midi; it is a medley of humor, philosophy, and unmatchable style.

Eccentricus once, in South France, had a chance—reluctantly passed by—to rent for a couple of months Stevenson's one-time abode, *La Solitude,* where, out behind the brown-beamed, gabled house, in a garden overlooking the bend of blue Mediterranean tucked into the elbow of the mist-opaled Mountains of the Moors, he used to do his writing. And even if *pensions* and hotels have encroached on the vista, it is still easy enough to see why his prose in this period gleams and flashes with the spray of beauty.

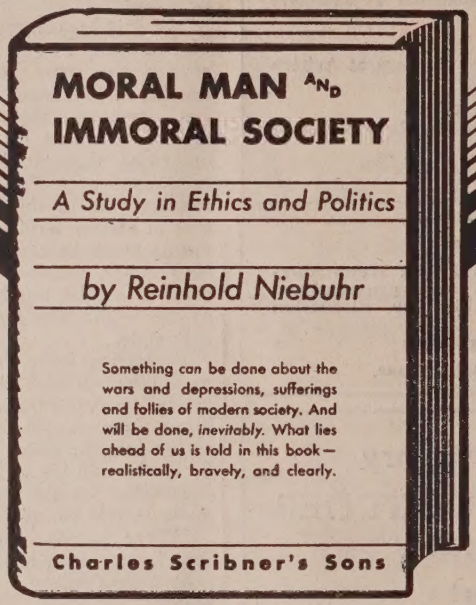
Where, in any other volume, can be found a more rapturous description of enchanted moments than his record of awakening from a time passed in sleep on a high peak, surrounded by "opaque night"?

> I shook myself, got once more into my boots and gaiters, and, breaking up the rest of the bread for Modestine [his hoofed companion], strolled about to see in what part of the world I had awakened. Ulysses, left on Ithaca, and with a mind unsettled by the goddess, was not more pleasantly astray. I have been after an adventure all my life, a pure dispassionate adventure, such as befell early and heroic voyagers; and thus to be found by morning in a random woodside nook in Gévaudan—not knowing north from south, as strange to my surroundings as the first man upon the earth, an island castaway—was to find a fraction of my day dreams realized. I was on the skirts of a little wood of birch, sprinkled with a few beeches; behind, it adjoined another wood of fir; and in front, it broke up and went down in open order into a shallow and meadowy dale. All around there were bare hill-tops, some near, some far away, as the perspective closed or opened, but none apparently much higher than the rest. The wind huddled the trees. The golden specks of autumn in the birches tossed shiveringly. Overhead the sky was full of strings and shreds of vapor, flying, vanishing, reappearing, and turning about an axis like tumblers, as the wind hounded them through heaven. It was wild weather and famishing cold. I ate some chocolate, swallowed a mouthful of brandy, and smoked a cigarette before the cold should have time to disable my fingers. And by the time I had got all this done, and had made my pack and bound it on the saddle, the day was tiptoe on the threshold of the east.

TOO serious this week? Not so; for buffoonery, as some psychologists and all true comics know, lies as close to beauty as laughter to pathos. For the disappointed ones, maybe I ought to tell about the Brooklyn window in which there is a sign, reading: "Prosperity, come back. All is forgiven." But I can't be optimistic, because I am the only one who knows where it really is. It's somewhere just around the coroner.

Eccentricus

"Moral Man and Immoral Society"


MORAL MAN AND IMMORAL SOCIETY
A Study in Ethics and Politics
by Reinhold Niebuhr
Something can be done about the wars and depressions, sufferings and follies of modern society. And will be done, inevitably. What lies ahead of us is told in this book—realistically, bravely, and clearly.
Charles Scribner's Sons

by **Reinhold Niebuhr**

Editor **The World Tomorrow**

MAN as an individual, says Dr. Niebuhr, is generally idealistic—a moral character—but collectively mankind is immoral. That is one reason why the world finds itself in the situation now existing. The highest ideals which the individual may express are ideals which he can never realize in social and collective terms.

People will not want to believe the ideas presented in this book. Nobody ever wants to believe it is necessary to have an operatio But, in the present social cris as in the case of an operatio he who believes in surge soonest has the greatest chance to survive.

Reinhold Niebuhr has not evaded the truths pe ple do not want to hear. He has said, strange enough, the things people are afraid to acknowled even though they are aware of them.

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